

"As members of this House, we are obliged to represent to his Majesty our sentiments, with regard to the persons he advises with or employs in the executive part of the government: if we neglect to do so, or from selfish motives abstain or delay giving his Majesty a proper information and advice, we neglect or betray not only our duty to our country and constituents, but also our duty to our Sovereign."—MR. SANDYS'S Speech, in the House of Commons, Feb. 13, 1740.

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AN

ANALYTICAL AND COMPARATIVE VIEW,

&c. &c.

Of two Pamphlets, lately published, the one entitled, "*Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties, during the Administration of Mr. Addington, by a NEAR OBSERVER;*" and the other entitled, "*A Plain Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer, by A MORE ACCURATE OBSERVER.*"

(Continued from Vol. IV. p. 917.)

IV. The conduct of the New Opposition in Parliament.

With respect to this part of the subject, if the answer had been silent, I should not have thought it necessary to include it in my examination; for, the remarks, which the Near Observer has made on the parliamentary conduct of those gentlemen, who compose what has been called the New Opposition, always appeared to me to be so weak, and, indeed, so evidently absurd, as not to stand in need of an exposure. But, when a work, written with some talent, and, to all appearance, coming from authority, professes to be an answer to another work, it is very natural to conclude, that whatever is left not answered, is unanswerable. Therefore, as the pamphlet of the Accurate Observer is entitled "a plain Answer to the Misrepresentations and calumnies of the Cursory Remarks of a Near Observer," the author will, it is reasonable to suppose, be, by his readers in general, regarded as having, to the best of his knowledge and abilities, answered the whole of those misrepresentations and calumnies; and, as he has, in reality, attempted to answer only that part of them which bear upon the character and conduct of his principal; as this course (a course by no means either generous or just) has been pursued by the partisans of Mr. Pitt, it seems necessary that his omissions should be supplied. Yet,

had he observed a strict silence with respect to the members of the New Opposition; had he excluded their characters and their parliamentary conduct entirely from the discussion, I certainly should not have been the man to drag them into it. But, while he was reminding his adversary, that "no species of falsehood is so certain of passing current in the world as that which has some degree of truth for its foundation," he appears not to have forgotten another maxim equally true, that "no malice is so likely to succeed as that which assumes the garb of friendship." He has introduced the members of the New Opposition merely as creatures, or things, destined to the uses (sometimes not the most honourable) of Mr. Pitt: here, they serve, like his own Cinque Port volunteers, to swell out his train, to be "set up upon a hill to make a show;" there, he considers them as regulars, and marches them on to meet the enemy: now, they are rolled before him in the capacity of a mantlelet to cover his sap; then, they are piled up into a parapet of sand-bags. Whatever be the character or form, in which they appear, for Mr. Pitt's purposes, and for those purposes alone, do they seem to be employed; and, when these purposes do not require that they should be defended, so far is the Accurate Observer from attempting their defence, that he often tacitly admits the justice of the censure, sometimes joins in, and improves upon, the misrepresentations, and, in one or two instances, adds to that calumny, which, agreeably to his professions, it was his duty to endeavour to refute. So that, in this part of my task, I shall have to answer both Mr. BENTLEY and Mr. LONG, who, though they have, like Peachum and Lockit, throttled, and would willingly strangle each other, can so far master their mutual hatred, as to co-operate most cordially against the members of the New Opposition. The Near Observer has introduced seven of these gentlemen, namely, Lord Temple, Mr. Grenville, Dr. Laurence, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Canning, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham; only the three latter of whom have been at all noticed by the Accurate Observer. How he has no-

ticed them we shall see by-and-by; but, first, it is necessary to speak of those whom he has omitted.

Lord Temple is charged, by the Near Observer, with demanding places for his family: "Lord Temple demands places for his family (insatiable family!) and his family insist upon naming the King's ministers."—It was, surely, the duty of a writer, who professed to answer the whole of the Cursory Remarks, to contradict this false and malicious assertion; or, if it was regarded as a falsehood too barefaced to merit a serious contradiction, it was his duty to notice it as such, especially as he must have been aware, that the falsehood, though barefaced and base, was by no means one of those which the Addingtons valued the least. But, we uniformly find this writer ready to sacrifice any and every other person to the purposes of Mr. Pitt.—The Near Observer, in bringing his charge against Lord Temple, has omitted the *where* and the *when*; but, he, no doubt, alludes to the debate of the 24th of November, when his lordship made use of expressions, which were, by Mr. Sheridan, tortured into a demand of places for his family, but which neither contained nor would bear any such meaning. The New Opposition had, in the course of the debate, been accused of wishing for war, at any rate, in preference to peace, on any terms; a charge, the truth of which Lord Temple denied. "The object of our arguments is," said he, "to open the minds of the people to their danger; to show them into what hands their country has fallen; and, to convince them, that, while it remains in such hands, there is no hope of success in war, nor of honour and security in peace. . . . Much remains to be done; and, in other hands, much may be done, not by engaging in a hazardous war, but by real firmness."—These are the expressions, which the Addingtons and Bragges have construed into a demand of places for the Grenville family; into a claim, on the part of that family, to name the ministers of the King! The Accurate Observer, who undertakes to answer misrepresentations and calumnies, ought, one would think, not to have passed over this part of his opponents remarks. Nor, would it have been a departure from his office, if, in answer to the exclamation of, "insatiable family!" as applied to the Grenvilles, he had given his readers some account of the great merits, of the talents, the integrity, the long and eminent services of that family. And, having been forced upon this subject, he might and ought to have shown, that the Addingtons (I will not call them a family) and their end-

less train of hungry relations, have already possessed themselves of three times as much of the public wealth as the Grenvilles ever enjoyed; besides having debased the character and enfeebled the power of the government, by filling the public offices with persons, whom the people must despise, and towards the supporting of whom in upstart idleness and insolence, they cannot and they will not cheerfully contribute.

Mr. Grenville and Dr. Laurence are accused, by the Near Observer, of having cried incessantly for war, till war became evidently inevitable, and then, of having "turned suddenly as the wind."—The passage of the Cursory Remarks, which I here allude to, is as follows:—"Mr. Thomas Grenville declared, that there was no man more ready or more eager to vote for the address," [on the King's Message of the 8th of March], "especially if it should be likely to procure peace and tranquillity; and, Doctor Laurence professed his wishes were for peace!!! He expected it should be proved, that the war, if it must now be renewed, was indispensably necessary to the safety and honour of the Empire!!!"

—If these expressions, these exact words, had been made use of by Mr. Grenville and Dr. Laurence, what inconsistency would they have discovered? These two gentlemen objected to the peace of Amiens for several reasons; but a principal reason was, that it gave us so small a hope of *lasting* peace and tranquillity; and, the address which, on the 13th of May, 1802, both of them voted for, advised his Majesty to adopt such measures as might tend to render *durable* the tranquillity, which he had, by so many sacrifices, graciously intended to restore to his people. Would it, therefore, have been turning like the wind, if the same persons, who, from such motives, voted for that address, had, from the same motives, supported the address in answer to the King's Message of the 8th of March, 1803?—But, during the debate in question, neither Mr. Grenville nor Dr. Laurence expressed any *wish* either for peace or war. Their opponents in doors, and the vulgar without doors, anticipated much *triumph*, on their part, at the prospect of seeing a speedy end to that peace, which they had so strongly and so justly reprobated. But, they were careful to discover no such triumph, and to remind their hearers, that the principles, on which they had condemned the peace, had never warranted their adversaries in representing them as bent upon war. Mr. Grenville said, that "he should cheerfully vote for the address,

" which he wished to see carried with perfect unanimity, because it would thereby be the more likely to convince the world that we were able and willing to defend our rights, which conviction was the means best calculated to produce a state of real peace and tranquillity." Was this turning about? Was this "shifting suddenly like a sail?"—Dr. Laurence stated his wish to obtain some information as to the grounds of the war; and trusted, that, when those grounds came to be publicly known, they would be found sufficient to *convince the world of the justice of our cause.* He further observed, that, as to the desire, which he and his friends had been accused of entertaining to plunge the nation in war, it never had existed for a moment; and, that one of the reasons why he disliked the peace was, that it evidently, directly, and rapidly tended towards the event, which had so soon arrived."—Was this shifting suddenly about? And, with such means at hand, was the defence of Mr. Grenville and Dr. Laurence a task too laborious and too difficult for the Accurate Observer.

Mr. Elliot also is charged by the Addingtons with shifting suddenly about upon this occasion, and, together with Mr. Windham, with having opposed the Irish militia law, for the purpose of embarrassing the ministers, in their warlike preparations. "Both these gentlemen," says the Near Observer, "were now discovered to be adverse to the system and principle of militia forces altogether, an opinion which did not so much surprise the admirers of the constitution and of that constitutional force, upon any other ground, as because in their official situations, they had severally appeared the most zealous advocates and promoters of this species of army. Mr. Elliot, who now opposed recruiting the Irish militia at four guineas per man, was reminded by the Attorney-General for Ireland, that he himself (Mr. Elliot) had brought in a bill for recruiting it at six guineas; and Mr. Windham was put in mind that during the time he had been in office, the militia in England had been augmented to an unprecedented degree, and the militia of Scotland and Ireland instituted and begun!! Thus it appeared, that it was not solely in the instance of the negotiations at Lisle, but in great general measures of domestic import, executive government and legislation, that the manly, consistent Mr. Windham, had not only lent his name, countenance, and authority against his

opinion, but that he had even condescended to become the official instrument and organ of measures which he disapproved and condemned. It always remained, however, to be accounted for, both by this Right Honourable Gentleman and Mr. Elliot, why they felt themselves more obliged to declare their opposition at one time than at another; why they could submit their *docile consciences* to the hand of Mr. Pitt, and shew such a restive spirit of mutiny under the guidance of his successor!!! It will be said, that they were in office at one time, and out of it the other; but, if this is an excuse, it follows, that to be neutral in things you disapprove, is less blameable than to be active in them; and that you may originate measures you condemn, but not suffer others to promote them, afterwards."—Here are misrepresentations and calumnies, an answer to which one might have reasonably expected from an Answerer, who assumes an appellation descriptive of great accuracy of observation. But, no: the defender of Mr. Pitt could, in the present instance, find no materials whereon to work! which is the more surprising as, in hunting through the parliamentary debates for facts wherewith to rebut the accusations against Mr. Pitt, he must have seen the speech, which Mr. Elliot made, at the time, in answer to these very misrepresentations and calumnies; for, they are, after all, a mere rechauffée of a dish, and a most disgusting one too, which had originally been served up from the Treasury Bench.—The debate, alluded to, was on the bill, passed last March, for granting a bounty of four guineas a man to such men as were willing to serve as militia-men in Ireland. To talk of the "constitution" and of "constitutional force," in such a case; to call men raised by bounty, militia-men, requires no small portion of even that assurance, with which the Addingtons are so super-abundantly gifted. But Mr. Elliot's speech is so full and satisfactory as to every point, its sentiments have been so fully verified in the time which has already elapsed, and it contains such an useful lesson for the future, that I shall cite it almost entire. "He had," he said, "no objection to the adoption of the principle of a militia in Ireland. On the contrary, he had suggested the expediency of making the experiment by the establishment of a force of that description: a very moderate number; five or six thousand for example. He was, however, told from the bench opposite to him, that, if a militia

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" in Ireland were to be formed by ballot,
 " there would be so many substitutes, and
 " at such large bounties, that the general
 " recruiting service would be more impeded
 " by that mode than by the restricted boun-
 " ties specified in the bill before the House.
 " This, he admitted, was an argument of
 " great weight, but it amounted to a decla-
 " ration that it was impracticable in Ireland
 " to obtain a militia upon the genuine
 " principle of a militia, which he could not
 " help considering as a decisive objection
 " against the institution. Accordingly, by
 " the present bill, the principle of a militia
 " was abandoned; for it proposed to raise
 " 18,000 men, *not by ballot, but by bounty.*
 " This force, therefore, had no other affini-
 " ty to a militia than that it was to be rais-
 " ed in counties, and was to be commanded
 " by officers nominally militia colonels. It
 " would be strictly an establishment of
 " fencibles. What were fencibles but corps
 " raised within particular districts, and offi-
 " cered by gentlemen of landed property
 " connected with such districts? The force,
 " therefore, proposed to be raised, would be
 " in principle nothing but a fencible esta-
 " blishment of the worst species, because
 " formed on such terms of service as would
 " *confine it entirely to Ireland.* If it was ab-
 " solutely necessary, as some gentlemen had
 " alleged, that a force of such numbers
 " should be raised on the spur of the occa-
 " sion, in order to co-operate with the regu-
 " lar army, why not raise a fencible force
 " on a more enlarged footing of service, *ap-
 " plicable, for instance, to Great-Britain and
 " Ireland?* At the same time he acknow-
 " ledged he felt almost insurmountable ob-
 " jections to that description of force; be-
 " cause it tended to produce a most injuri-
 " ous competition of bounties between the
 " home and regular service; and if we
 " adopted it, we should be compelled (as
 " we were in the late war), to raise the
 " bounty for the line to an amount which
 " would not only render our army so bur-
 " thensome in point of expense, that the
 " pecuniary means of the country would
 " scarcely be adequate to sustain it, but
 " which was also calculated to produce, in
 " other points of view, the most prejudicial
 " effects on the service. It had been ob-
 " served, in the course of the debate, that
 " in the late war the militia had been most
 " successfully applied to the recruiting of
 " the regular army. He was glad that
 " measure had been mentioned, because he
 " should have selected it as a complete il-
 " lustration of the truth of the argument he
 " was stating. In the course of the late

" war, so much of the population of the
 " kingdom had been locked up in defen-
 " sive corps, that the recruiting service was
 " so entirely suspended, that it was found
 " necessary to dissolve a considerable pro-
 " portion of the local force to supply the
 " alarming deficiency of the regular army.
 " The expedient was certainly not to be
 " justified on any principle, but the urgency
 " of the occasion. The emergency, how-
 " ever, was pressing, and he felt that every
 " tribute of public gratitude and applause
 " was due both to the energy of the coun-
 " cils which devised the measure, and to
 " the patriotism of the officers who gave
 " their co-operation to it. But he believed
 " it would not be proposed to adopt it as a
 " general system of recruiting. He was
 " persuaded such a system would not be
 " avowed. If indeed it was understood,
 " that the colonels of militia were ready
 " to lend their regiments to the recruit-
 " ing of the line, it might in a certain de-
 " gree diminish his objections to the present
 " measure, though he could by no means
 " bring himself to think, that a systematic
 " application of the militia to the recruiting
 " of the line would be a judicious course of
 " proceeding. However, he should not
 " then take up the time of the House by
 " enlarging on that subject, since he was
 " confident such a system would not be as-
 " serted as practicable. Mr. Elliot next
 " adverted to a remark which had been
 " made by his right hon. and learned friend
 " the Attorney General of Ireland, and
 " which he could not notice without some
 " apology to the House, as it had little re-
 " lation to the merits of the present ques-
 " tion, being entirely an *argumentum ad ho-*
 " *minem.* His learned friend had stated,
 " that he (Mr. Elliot) had expressed no dis-
 " approbation of laws of a similar tenden-
 " cy while he sat in the parliament of Ire-
 " land. It was true that, while he was in
 " that parliament, one or two acts passed,
 " authorising a levy of volunteers by boun-
 " ty in augmentation of the militia. He
 " had, however, always entertained consi-
 " derable prepossessions against that sys-
 " tem of military policy, and experience
 " had confirmed them. But his learned
 " friend had really spoken, as if he (Mr.
 " Elliot) had been a principal instrument in
 " forming the militia of Ireland. Now the
 " fact was, that he was appointed to the
 " war-office in Ireland in the summer of
 " 1796, at which period the militia had
 " been raised between two and three
 " years, and he found it armed, arrayed,
 " and encamped. What did his learned

" friend conceive he should have done in
 " such circumstances? Did he mean to
 " suggest that he ought, from his place in
 " parliament, to have proposed the dissolution
 " of the establishment in the midst of
 " war? That he believed would not have
 " been thought a very safe or well-timed
 " measure. But the case was now widely
 " different. On the conclusion of the
 " late war, the militia establishment of Ireland
 " was disbanded, not disembodied,
 " but actually dissolved; and the question
 " before the House was, whether the institution
 " was to be revived in a shape
 " calculated, at a most critical conjuncture,
 " to cut up the general recruiting service
 " by the very root. He could not conclude
 " without making an observation on what
 " had fallen from the Secretary at War,
 " who had imputed to him, that, after
 " having sounded an alarm through the
 " country, he was now throwing obstructions
 " in the way of the public service. He
 " must remark, that it did not very well become
 " the right honourable gentleman to
 " reproach him with alarms, just at the
 " conjuncture when his Majesty's ministers,
 " though rather late to be sure, began
 " to participate in those alarms. He however,
 " avowed the intention of giving the
 " alarm upon the present bill. He was
 " most anxious to impress parliament with
 " a full sense of its dangerous tendency;
 " for, if there was a measure more calculated
 " than another, to prostrate this country
 " at the foot of a foreign foe, it was
 " surely that which, in the present perilous
 " crisis, should contribute to the annihilation
 " of the recruiting means of the empire.
 " It had been insinuated both against
 " his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham)
 " and himself, that they were now endeavouring
 " to cast a damp upon the ardour of the
 " country. This was certainly a new charge
 " against his right honourable friend and
 " himself. Nevertheless, it might be well
 " founded. They might have changed their
 " conduct. He trusted, however, they would
 " be found consistent. He believed, there were
 " no two members of that House more desirous
 " of calling forth the mind and spirit of the
 " country than his right honourable friend
 " and himself. But there might be a difference
 " of opinion in respect to the best mode of
 " accomplishing that object. It was, he thought,
 " a part of true wisdom, as well as of genuine
 " courage, to look at the impending danger in
 " its full extent. There was no piety in the
 " delusion which covered it, either from the

" parliament or from the people. In order
 " to apportion our efforts to the emergencies
 " of our situation, we ought to know the
 " full measure of our peril. In the event
 " of a fresh contest the country ought to
 " be prepared for great and trying sacrifices.
 " He had never represented war otherwise
 " than as a great calamity, but he had stated,
 " and he retained the opinion, that it might
 " prove a less dangerous, and certainly a
 " more honourable predicament, than a
 " perseverance in a series of submissive
 " councils. If the country was roused to a
 " full sense of the peril of its situation, and
 " was made to understand the real ground and
 " principle of the contest, (for he earnestly
 " deprecated the injurious policy of sliding
 " the nation into a war in darkness and
 " obscurity,) he was persuaded that we
 " should find in the people that prudent,
 " courageous, persevering, patient, fortitude,
 " which had carried this country through
 " many arduous and painful struggles. He
 " was convinced that, with an adequate
 " impression of our danger, and a due
 " consciousness of the justice and soundness
 " of our cause, we should, with one united
 " effort resolve, either successfully to
 " support the ancient fabric of our laws,
 " rights, liberties, and independence, or to
 " perish under the ruins of an edifice, which
 " no ingenuous or rational mind could be
 " anxious to survive; for beyond it there
 " was no retreat, no refuge, no consolation.
 " It was matter of awful reflection, that
 " if this country fell, the last asylum of
 " the civilized world was gone. These were
 " the reasons which induced him to wish
 " that we should, as far as we were able,
 " preserve the means of the nation collected
 " and unimpaired. It was a painful task
 " to him to object to any arrangement
 " connected with the defence and security
 " of the country; but he did not make an
 " exaggerated statement of his opinion, when
 " he declared that, if a board of French
 " general officers had sat for the purpose
 " of devising the most effectual mode of
 " sapping to their foundation the military
 " strength and resources of this empire, they
 " could not, in his judgment, have contrived
 " a measure better adapted to the accomplishment
 " of that object, than the resolution contained
 " in the report upon the table."—Not much
 " more than three months after this speech
 " was delivered, and before the Irish militia
 " were half got together, every intelligent
 " man from that country, not influenced by
 " a job, either in existence or in embryo,
 " was ready to declare openly, that, unless

the Irish militia were rendered transferable to England, they would do infinitely more harm than good; and, it can hardly be forgotten, that the same opinion was pretty distinctly expressed by Lord Limerick, in seconding the address to the throne, on the 22d of November last. "With respect," he said, "to the militia of Ireland, the wisest policy was, to employ them, partially, at least, in this country. There might, indeed, exist an aversion, on the part of the English and Scotch militia to crossing the sea; but, he repeated his opinion, that, with respect to the Irish militia, they would, if brought to this country, behave as well as troops possibly could." Now, every one knows, that his lordship, if he had thought it prudent to speak out, would have said, that the 18,000 men, raised in Ireland, at four guineas a man, under the name of militia, were of very little use: so little, in the opinions of some persons, as to render their *absence* something truly desirable; nay, I have heard it declared, by a gentleman very well acquainted with the state of Ireland, and very deeply interested in its fate, that he should look upon his estates in that country as being much more valuable than they now are, if the 18,000 militia had never had arms put into their hands. When, therefore, one reflects, that of this body of men, eight or ten thousand might, by a bounty of seven guineas a man, have been enrolled in the regular army, and, of course, sent to any part of the world, we are astonished at the assurance of those, who can, with the lesson of experience before them, still rail at the objections urged by Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham against the measure in question. — But, the Near Observer says, that these gentlemen were now, and for the first time too, discovered to be "adverse to the system and principle of militia forces altogether." Mr. Elliot began his speech not only by stating, that "he thought it highly important that the principle of the militia should be preserved and cherished," but he also said, that he "had no objection to the adoption of the principle of a militia in Ireland;" and, in the same debate, though Mr. Windham appeared to be more averse to a militia system than Mr. Elliot, he said, "that he did not mean, that there should be no militia at all; he only alluded to the proportion of it compared to the standing army, which he thought much more essential to the defence of the country, and which, therefore, he did not wish to see sapped by bounties given to raise recruits for what were called militia

"regiments." — I have already observed that the passage above quoted from the Near Observer is a mere *rechauffée* of what was delivered from the Treasury Bench, on the 15th and 16th of March last. The Attorney-General of Ireland is, indeed, quoted by name, though the candid partisans of the candid Addingtons omitted to notice Mr. Elliot's answer, which, as we have seen, contained a complete refutation of the charge preferred against him by that learned gentleman. The same sort of candour has been observed with respect to Mr. Windham, of whom it is asserted, in a repetition of almost the very words of Mr. Yorke, that he "in his official situation appeared the most zealous advocate of this species of army; that, during the time he was in office, the militia in England had been augmented to an unprecedented degree, and the militia of Scotland and Ireland instituted and begun." Hence, it is concluded, that Mr. Windham lent his name to measures which he condemned; and, that he was ready "to submit his *conscience* to the hand of Mr. Pitt." These are the words of the Near Observer. Let us now hear Mr. Yorke. "He did not, by any means complain of the hon. gentleman's objections to this measure; he only complained that the right hon. gent. had made his general objections at a time, and upon an occasion, when these objections could lead to no practical conclusion. He complained that the right honourable gentleman, entertaining such opinions upon this subject as he now appeared to do, should, while he was in office, have augmented the militia to a degree heretofore unprecedented; for the right hon. gent. was at that time in a department (war office) immediately connected with the public force. The right hon. gent. had not only suffered the militia in England to be so augmented; but, while he held an important office in administration, the militia of Scotland was formed, and he believed that of Ireland; and yet upon these occasions the right hon. gent. had urged no objection. But now, even if the right honourable gentleman's objections should prevail, (unless the parliament were to supercede all the militia laws at once,) he stated them for the first time. When the bill, of which the present one was only a part, was before the House, and when, from the situation of the country, his objections could have been more deliberately and maturely examined, the right hon. gent. sat perfectly silent." — From the Addingtons or the Hawkesburies

one might have expected to hear insinuations and charges like these, but, though "evil communications corrupt good manners," from Mr. Yorke, I, most assuredly, should not have expected them. As a cabinet-minister Mr. Windham might, in the cabinet, oppose the measures here spoken of; but, if his opposition proved unsuccessful, if he could not enforce his opinion against that of the rest of the council, will Mr. Yorke say, that it was his duty to resign his office, and to quit the cabinet? Of this, however, more hereafter. Mr. Yorke charges him with "having augmented the militia," and with having, "while in a department *immediately connected with the public force,*" "SUFFERED the militia of England to be augmented, and that of Scotland and Ireland to be formed." Who, that is unacquainted with the nature of the office that Mr. Windham held, would not, from this representation, imagine, that Mr. Windham was the author, the first proposer of the augmentation of the militia in England, as well as of the establishment of a militia in Scotland and Ireland; especially as his office was that of *Secretary at War*. Mr. Yorke certainly could not intend to send forth to the world so gross a misrepresentation; and, yet one hardly knows how to account for his expressions in any other way, without imputing to him a want of even common discernment. Mr. Yorke knew; Mr. Yorke must know, for he was Secretary at War himself at the time when he made the above quoted speech; he *must*, therefore, well know, that Mr. Windham, as Secretary at War, had no more to do with the augmenting or creating of militia forces, than the Lord Chancellor had. Mr. Yorke knew, that the management of the militia lay exclusively with the Secretary of State for the War Department, which office was then filled by Mr. Dundas, now Lord Melville; Mr. Yorke knew, that by Mr. Dundas and the Commander in Chief the whole of that branch of the public service was managed; that no official communication existed between it and the war-office; and that, except as far as his opinion and vote would go in the cabinet council, Mr. Windham had no more controul over the measures alluded to, than the Emperor of China had. This being the true state of the case, let the world judge, whether it was fair and manly in Mr. Yorke to charge Mr. Windham with "having augmented the militia," and with having "suffered the militia to be augmented and formed." If he had preferred this charge against the late Lord Chancellor or Secretary at State for foreign affairs, it

would not have succeeded, there would have been nothing for it to stick to; but, the appellation of late *Secretary at War* was charmingly calculated to take with the ignorant gaping crowd in the galleries. I would, however, put it to Mr. Yorke, whether the taking advantage of such a circumstance was worthy of him, or of any one who had the honour to reply to Mr. Windham; whether he thinks that Mr. Windham would have resorted to the use of such means; whether he does not now lament, that he has furnished the *Near Observer* with the materials of misrepresentation and calumny; and, finally, whether he can view without feeling some degree of humiliation, the contrast exhibited in the conduct of Mr. Windham.—One point only remains. Mr. Yorke states, that Mr. Windham "urged no objection" to the militia measures adopted while he was in office. *Where* does Mr. Yorke mean? He cannot know, that he urged no objections in the cabinet; he must, therefore, mean, that he urged none in *parliament*; and, I would, then, like to hear Mr. Yorke say, whether it was the custom, whether it ever has been the custom, whether an instance of that kind ever was heard of, for a member of the cabinet to oppose, in parliament, a cabinet measure. But, Mr. Yorke goes further, and says, that, since Mr. Windham has been out of the cabinet, he has never opposed any militia arrangement *till now*. "Even," says he, "if the Right Honourable Gentleman's objections were to prevail, he has *now* stated them for the *first time*." I hope Mr. Yorke's memory is very short; for, I should be sorry to suppose, that, when he made this assertion, he had not completely forgotten what passed upon the bringing up the report of the Scotch militia bill, on the 31st of May 1802. The object of this bill was to enable his Majesty, in case of invasion, or any other great emergency, to augment the Scotch militia in the proportion of one half. Mr. Elliot objected to the measure, for the same reason that we have seen him object to the Irish militia system; to wit, that it would tend to *destroy the recruiting service for the regular army*. The concluding words of Mr. Elliot's speech express opinions, which cannot be too generally inculcated, and to which it is, at this time, peculiarly useful to call the attention of the public.—"In the northern part of that country, too, through the spirit of clanship, and the hereditary attachment which prevailed there to particular families, there were means of recruiting which existed in no other parts of the empire. The establishment, therefore, of a large local force

“ within so contracted a space was, he
 “ maintained, to cut up by the roots the re-
 “ cruiting service of the army. It was abso-
 “ lutely to frustrate and nullify the military
 “ resources of the country. The attempt to
 “ combine a considerable augmentation of
 “ the local force with the recruiting service
 “ of the army was, he asserted, an incon-
 “ gruous system. It was to present induce-
 “ ments to men to stay at home, at the
 “ same time that invitations were held out
 “ to them for enlistment for general service.
 “ A premium was offered with one hand
 “ against the bounty which was tendered
 “ with the other. For these reasons, he
 “ had always thought the original institution
 “ of the Scotch militia an injudicious ar-
 “ rangement; and he was sure its augmen-
 “ tation would be a perseverance in a very
 “ injurious error. It might, perhaps, be
 “ said, that the number of men proposed
 “ to be added was not large. For the ex-
 “ tent of the country, however, he alleged,
 “ it was not inconsiderable. It might pro-
 “ bably be stated, that the measure was not
 “ to be carried into effect, unless in case of
 “ the danger of invasion, or some pressing
 “ emergency. To that he should answer,
 “ that it was not evident that it would be
 “ necessary even in the event of invasion,
 “ to increase the militia; for if a consider-
 “ able portion of transferable force was in
 “ the kingdom in such an exigency, it
 “ would be as applicable for the purpose of
 “ defence as a local force. But if such a
 “ measure should prove requisite, the inter-
 “ vention of parliament might then be used;
 “ and if it was not sitting, it could be con-
 “ vened soon enough to give its sanction to
 “ the measure. The bill, however, did not
 “ limit the measure to the event of invasion,
 “ but extended it to *any other great emer-*
 “ *gency*, which words vested in the govern-
 “ ment a complete discretion on the sub-
 “ ject. A *great emergency* might, for in-
 “ stance, be the commencement of a war,
 “ *the very conjuncture at which he should*
 “ *most deprecate such a measure.* In short,
 “ he desired to be understood as objecting
 “ to the principle of the arrangement, since
 “ it led to a system, which was fundamen-
 “ tally vicious, and which appeared to him
 “ to be directly the reverse to that which in
 “ the event of a war, it would be expedient
 “ for this country to adopt.”—Now, I ask
 any observing and impartial man, whether
 these opinions have not already been veri-
 fied? We are giving from 35 to 50 guineas
 for recruits for the Army of Reserve, recruits

to do little more than stay at home; and, we
 have, during nine months of exertion, raised,
 out of fifteen millions of souls, about *nine*
thousand recruits for the regular army, seven
 thousand of whom have, in one way or
 another, each individual of them cost the
 country fifty guineas, at the least farthing,
 previous to his joining a regular regiment!—
 But, what did Mr. Windham say, upon the
 occasion alluded to? He said, “ he concur-
 “ red with every thing that had been ad-
 “ vanced by his honourable friend, (Mr. El-
 “ liot) but thought he had not gone far
 “ enough. Not only any clause of the bill,
 “ but its whole principle ought to be op-
 “ posed; as it went to lay out the force of
 “ the country in a defensive instead of an
 “ offensive army. He did not wish to see the
 “ militia *totally extinguished*; yet he thought,
 “ that instead of increasing its numbers, it
 “ ought to be reduced *below the old establish-*
 “ *ment*, both in Scotland and England, and
 “ never to be augmented except in cases of
 “ emergency. To one consideration he
 “ would particularly call the attention of
 “ the House: every compulsory force em-
 “ ployed in raising men must necessarily
 “ increase the difficulty of voluntary recruit-
 “ ing, as it takes away the fair competition,
 “ and thus raises the bounty; as appeared
 “ in the late war, where it rose to 15 gui-
 “ neas, instead of one guinea, the usual
 “ price formerly given. The reason of this
 “ was evident: it was absolutely necessary
 “ to allow the employing substitutes. Peo-
 “ ple in certain circumstances gave any
 “ price for substitutes, rather than serve
 “ themselves; the consequence was, that
 “ the premium for substitutes was known to
 “ be enormously high, and of course the price
 “ of recruits for the regular army was rais-
 “ ed in proportion. From these and many
 “ other considerations, he was a decided foe
 “ to the militia system; he considered a re-
 “ gular army as the most proper and best
 “ defence of the country *.”—This debate
 took place, as I have before observed, on the
 31st of May, 1802: Mr. Yorke was present
 at the time; and, which is singular enough,
 scarcely opened his mouth in reply. He was,
 as yet, little schooled in the ways of the Ad-
 dingtons and Hawkesburies: he was, as yet,
 incapable of charging Mr. Windham with
 having, as Secretary at War, “ *augmented*
 “ *the militia*,” or with having “ *suffered it*
 “ *to be augmented.*” Still, as I have already
 declared, I would fain believe, that, when
 Mr. Yorke did, on the 16th of March last,
 accuse Mr. Windham of having then ob-

* See Register, Vol. I. p. 692.

* See Debrett's Parl. Register, May 31, 1802.



jected, "for the *first time*," to the augmentation of the militia; I would fain believe, and I must believe, that when Mr. Yorke made this assertion, he had totally forgotten the occurrences of the 31st of May, 1802; but, I never can believe, that it is reconcileable either to that dignity or that manliness of character, which I always look for in Mr. Yorke, to have so spoken in Parliament as to have furnished the sentiments, and almost the very words, wherewith a Treasury Hireling has dressed out the most shameful calumnies.—It should be observed, that the object, which this writer has in view, in misrepresenting the conduct of Mr. Elliot and this part of the conduct of Mr. Windham, is, to inculcate a belief, that the objections which they made to the militia system arose from their desire to embarrass the ministers, and to retard, if not obstruct altogether, the warlike preparations of those wise and vigorous gentlemen; and, it must be confessed, that the language made use of by Mr. Yorke, and by others in the same debate, evidently led to such a conclusion; but, that this conclusion was false, that it was a most gross error, or most malignant misinterpretation, no doubt can, I think, be entertained. Their objections arose from their anxious desire to prevent the source of the recruiting service from being dried up; and, who will now deny, that it would be happy for the country, if that desire had been gratified? Who, that looks at the bloated accounts of volunteer corps, army of reserve, and militia, and compares them with the meagre skeleton returns of the regular army, the only army on which we can *safely* rely for defence, and on which we can *possibly* rely for offence; who, that makes this comparison, and that considers what may be the fatal consequences of a protracted and inglorious war, can help sorely lamenting, that the opinions of Messrs. Elliot and Windham did not prevail, that their advice was not followed, and that they had not the power to prevent, as well as the sagacity to foresee, and the integrity to foretell, the effects of the system to which they objected?

Here I close my observations on that part of the Cursory Remarks, which contain misrepresentations and calumnies that the Accurate Observer found it too troublesome or too difficult to answer. In observing upon the remarks, which relate to Mr. Elliot, I have been obliged to include those, which, on the particular subject of the militia force, relate also to Mr. Windham.—I should now proceed in my analytical and comparative view of the two pamphlets, as far as they relate to the parliamentary conduct of Mr.

Canning, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham; but, for want of room, I find myself compelled to defer it to my next.

(To be continued.)

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INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—According to late accounts from India, the Peishwa has been enthroned at Poonah, with great pomp, amidst the congratulations of an hundred thousand people.—Scindea has not broken up his camp, but it is supposed will besiege Indoor, the capital of Holkar, who, in consequence of the desertion of great numbers of his troops, and the want of provisions, is in great distress.—Madajee Boonslah, the chief of the eastern Mahrattas, has formed an additional alliance with the Company, of a very advantageous nature.—Mulha Rao has yet eluded the vigilance of the Hill chiefs in the Guzzurat; and although Futty Sing Guicuar has used all his influence with the Rajahs who are interested in the cause, he has yet been unsuccessful.—The trade between Persia and the Company, has been opened in its full extent, according to the treaty concluded with the Persian ambassador; and the imports during the three first months have exceeded all expectation.—Letters from China have been received at Bombay, which represent that country to be generally tranquil, although Ong Fong, a daring chief, is at the head of a rebellion in the north, with nearly 50,000 followers.—The ports of the Ligurian Republic have not yet been blockaded by the ships of his Britannic Majesty; but the merchants are so apprehensive of that event, that the commerce of the country has been suffered to dwindle into a state of comparative insignificance.—The Emperor of Germany has authorized the establishment of a General Consistory for the Protestant Churches in Galicia. He has, also, appointed M. Mercard, Secretary of the Royal and Imperial Legation to the Circle of Franconia.—The Elector of Metz, Arch-Chancellor, has named Baron Franckenstien Minister Plenipotentiary to the Electoral Court of Bavaria.—The Grecian Prince Argitople, who has been, for six years, the Chargé d'Affaires of the Sublime Porte, in Holland, has returned to Constantinople.—Gen. Lasnes, the French ambassador at Lisbon has been recalled; and it is said has been appointed to an important command in the army intended for the invasion of England.—Accounts from the West-Indies, received by the way of Philadelphia, state that the French troops have been almost expelled from the island of St. Domingo. Port de-Paix has been taken possession

of by the negroes; who also made prisoners of the garrison, consisting of five hundred men. Rochambeau continues at the Cape, but is desirous of getting to the place generally called St. Domingo; this, however, the negroes will not suffer, as four thousand of them occupy the intermediate country. All the places which have been taken by the ships of the British blockading squadron, have been given up to the negroes, who treat the inhabitants, as well as the French prisoners with great humanity. Port-au-Prince is in a state of equal distress. Great numbers of the inhabitants have fled to St. Jago de Cuba; and Dessalines has summoned the town to surrender. Gen. Lavalet, who commands there, has refused, and has declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity: but the want of provisions will soon compel him to submit.—The American Congress is occupied in discussing subjects relating to the cession of Louisiana: the levy of the military force, which they authorized to be raised for taking possession of that colony, is carried on with great expedition.

DOMESTIC.—The King has been pleased to appoint Charles Cameron, Esq. to be Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's Bahama Islands in America.—He has, also, been pleased to appoint the Right Hon. Percy, Lord Viscount Strangford, to be his Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Lisbon.—He has, also, been pleased to grant to the Hon. Cropley Ashley, the office of Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of Joseph Hunt, Esq.—The farmers in different parts of the country, fearful that their stores of corn, hay, straw, &c. would be put into requisition, on the landing of an enemy, are anxious to dispose of those articles. Great quantities have, therefore, been sent to the London markets, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and Essex; and sold at a lower rate than has been known for a long time.—Mr. Yorke has written a letter to the Lords Lieutenant of the counties on the coast, informing them, that, as Dutch vessels from Holland, under Prussian colours, have been in the practice of resorting to the east coast of England, for the double purpose of carrying on contraband trade, and conveying intelligence to the enemy, it has been judged proper to direct that they should in future be prevented from doing so, between the Humber and the Downs, Yarmouth Roads and the Downs excepted: and that as the measures taken for this purpose may, in some instances, be eluded by their putting persons clandestinely on shore, the peace-

officers are to be particularly watchful in discovering such persons, and bringing them before the magistrates for examination; in which case the result is to be transmitted, as soon as possible, to him.—On the 3d inst. the volunteers of Pimlico, styled the Queen's Royal Volunteers, received their colours from her Majesty. The ceremony of presentation, which was conducted with great pomp, and at which many distinguished persons were present, took place at Ranelagh. An excellent military band was provided; and Braham, Incedon, and several other vocal performers, dressed in the uniforms of the different volunteer corps to which they belonged, and the organist and choristers from both cathedrals attended. At one o'clock the Countess of Harrington, who was the representative of her Majesty on the occasion, was announced, and ushered into her box with all the pomp due to majesty: two principal officers of the corps, and two ladies of the Queen's household waited upon her. The band then played "God save the King," and the two battalions presented arms. Several prayers were read by the chaplain of the corps, after which a sermon was preached by one of her Majesty's chaplains. After the sermon, the coronation anthem was sung and played by all the vocal and instrumental performers present. Two ensigns, a captain, and six serjeants from each battalion then stepped forward to receive the colours; Lord Hobart, as commandant, gave the word to the whole corps to present arms. The Countess of Harrington then presented the colours, and Lord Hobart received them kneeling, as if the Queen were personally present. Her Ladyship delivered a speech of a few words, in a low tone; to which Lord Hobart returned an answer, in the name of the corps, expressive of the gratitude which they must feel for the peculiar honour which had been done them, and of their resolution to lose the colours, only with their lives. "God save the King" was then played and sung in full chorus. The corps again saluted, and the Countess and her attendants withdrew.—The last mail from the Leeward Islands brings intelligence of the death of Gen. Greenfield, commander of the British troops in that quarter; and of Major Gen. Clephane, Governor of Grenada. It is said, however, that no official accounts to that effect have been received.—The same mail also brings information of the sailing of an expedition against the Batavian colony of St. Eustatia, the defenceless state of which left no doubt of its becoming an easy conquest to his Majesty's arms.

MILITARY.—The whole of the French

and Batavian military force in Holland and Zealand, including the entire coast from the West Scheldt to the Texel, it is said, does not exceed forty thousand men, garrisons included. One of the principal bodies of the disposable force is assembled in the neighbourhood of the Helder, and consists of about seventeen thousand men, chiefly French. The army may, however, be, at any time, augmented by any part of the troops in Hanover. There is another small army of about eight thousand men collected in the island of Walcheren, apparently intended more for defensive than offensive operations. In conformity to some late arrangements, the Batavian troops have been ordered to approach nearer to the coast, for the purpose of being more contiguous to the ports where the embarkations are to be made. Several corps will enter Holland, and lie in Delft, Leyden, Haarlem and Amsterdam, thus forming a line to embark as soon as orders may be received.—The legislative body of the Italian Republic, at the request of government, has agreed to measures for contributing to the expedition against England, by a direct aid of naval and land forces. The legislature has therefore provided means to defray the expense of these auxiliaries, and the law on that subject has been proclaimed. It orders the immediate raising of 5,500,000 of Milanese livres, by a land-tax, payable at a very short period; which sum is to be placed at the disposal of the executive power, for the construction of two frigates and twelve gun-boats, as well as for the equipment of troops.—The greater part of the Italian troops, intended for France, are already on their march; the sixth, seventh, and eighth columns have set out from Milan, on their march, by the way of the Simplon and the Valais, to enter the French territory by Geneva. The French troops in Italy still keep their old positions; the only thing new which has taken place is the reduction of the garrison of Leghorn to fifteen hundred men, in consequence of a request made to the First Consul by the Queen of Etruria. The corps which have quitted Leghorn have marched for the Neapolitan coasts of the Adriatic, to which place some others have repaired from Upper Italy.—In Great-Britain, ministers have given directions that the military preparations throughout the country, and particularly on the coasts, shall be expedited with all possible dispatch. Additional works are erecting in places which have been thought too much exposed; and all the troops in different parts have been ordered to be in a state of constant readiness.—Orders have, also, been issued from the War Office, to the different courts of lieutenancy throughout the kingdom, most peremptorily requiring, that all the regiments of militia shall be completed to their *full establishment* immediately, on pain of having the fines levied for all short of the complement.—The regiment of Light Dragoons, commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, which has been for some time quartered at Brighton, has been ordered from that station to Guildford. The reasons for which this change was made, are said to be a regard for the personal safety of the Heir Apparent.

NAVY.—The council of marine of the Batavian republic has issued orders to the respective commanders in the roads of the republic, for summoning all superior as well as inferior naval officers, and others absent on leave, to repair without loss of time to their respective ships, and to grant no furloughs in future; and also, that all the national ships and vessels of war be immediately put and kept in readiness to be employed in actual service at the shortest notice.—In consequence of remonstrances from the municipalities of Vlaardingen and Maaslois, the Batavian government has, for the present, abandoned the design of requiring a number of fishing hookers, on board of which it was intended to transport troops, &c. for the expedition against Great-Britain.

—On the 15th of September last, Captain Graves, of his Majesty's ship *Blenheim*, discovered a small schooner privateer endeavouring to get into Port-Royal: he accordingly dispatched his boats to cut her off, and after a long chase, they boarded and carried her. She proved to be the French privateer *Fortunée*, of two guns and twenty-nine men.—On the 26th of October, Captain Younghusband, of the *Osprey*, cruising off Trinidad, discovered the French privateer *La Resource*; not being able to come up with her himself, Capt. Y. sent his boats to attack her, and notwithstanding the privateer kept up a heavy fire from the guns and musketry, they succeeded in capturing her. She mounted four guns, and carried forty-three men, two of whom were killed and twelve wounded during the action.—Capt. Younghusband having put Lieut. Collier and sixteen men on board the prize, she captured, on the next day, the French privateer schooner *La Mimi*, of one gun and twenty-one men.—On the 26th of December, Com. Hood, in the *Centaur*, cruising between Tobago and Grenada, captured, after a chase of seven hours, the French privateer schooner *Vigilante*, of two guns and forty men, besides a great quantity of musketry.—Admiral Cornwallis, for whose safety during the late storms, the

public felt so much anxiety, arrived in Torbay on the 30th of December, accompanied by the San Joseph and Dreadnought. The gallant Admiral, it is stated, was blown off Brest, on Friday the 24th, and again attempted to regain his station but the gale of Tuesday the 27th, obliged him to return. The ships which came in, had suffered considerably in their yards, rigging, &c. besides being much strained; but the damage was soon repaired, and Admiral Cornwallis, after being joined by four ships of the line and a fifty-gun ship, from Cawsand Bay, which were ready to reinforce him, again sailed for Brest; and it is believed, that he may be now on his old station. Admiral Cornwallis, who has now been so long at sea, did not quit his ship for an instant.—Several cruizers have sailed from the Downs for the coast of France; and, it is probable, that, by this time, the British squadrons in every quarter have resumed their blockading stations.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WAR OF FINANCE.—From the following passage, which has been extracted from a ministerial paper, there is some reason to suppose, that the Doctor has conceived the idea of triumphing over the finances of Buonaparté. That of all his follies this would be the greatest there can be no doubt; but, first let us hear him, and then put him right if we can: "The nature of our financial measures," says he, "must prove to France, to Europe, and to the world, that British resources are as exhaustless as the British spirit is extinguishable. We may now retort on the fell tyrant his charge of approaching bankruptcy, and appeal to Europe to decide on which side the charge is best founded.—Twelve millions of the supplies raised within the year, in addition to an aggregate of taxes already in operation, unexampled in the history of any nation, furnish too convincing a proof of what the finances of Britain are capable of yielding, to be overturned by the artful representatives of French scribblers." —*Raised!* no, no, not *raised*, enacted, imposed by law, if you please; but not raised yet. The first quarter produced little more than half a million; the second may, probably, produce three half millions, and not much more than that, though the produce to the 5th of this month was estimated at four millions and a half. Not a penny of the income tax has yet been raised; and this source was to produce 4,500,000 l. out of the 12,000,000 l.—But, let us hear

him out:—"Whilst taxes are imposed by the legislature, and cheerfully acquiesced in by the people, to an amount that would appear incredible to even an Englishman ten years since; the burthen is so wisely and so equally diffused, that it is comparatively little felt, and universally submitted to without murmur. Every additional impost has been regulated in such a manner as to affect each individual in proportion to his means, and the greatest tenderness has been shewn to the poorer classes, by excepting them, in all cases where the operation of the tax might prove injurious or oppressive. The boasted finances of France, on the contrary, are in a state of rapid decay. The public revenues have, in many instances, been anticipated, and their produce, for some years to come, raised in advance, and applied to the support of the present war. Neutral nations have been plundered, and allied states compelled to make advances by way of loan, to prop the vaunted resources of the republic; yet, such has been the extravagance of the French government's plans, or the want of prudence and economy in the prosecution of them, that it has been compelled to resort to the most unjust, oppressive, and shameless system of extortion, in the shape of taxes, that ever disgraced the administration of any civilized government."—That the impositions of the French government are unjust and oppressive is very likely; but, that any thing, in the shape of a tax, can, by the French or any other government, be more detestable than the Doctor's income tax I utterly deny. It is not the amount of it; that is not too great; and, besides, it is as well to pay under that name as under any other name; it is the abominable principle of it that I dislike, that I abhor, and that, let who will differ from me in opinion, I shall always abhor.—The French revenues are anticipated; their produce, for some years to come, has been "raised in advance, and applied to the support of the present war!" What, in the name of common sense, does the Doctor mean? Does he speak of a borrowing system? Has the French government been making loans? Has it begun to saddle the nation with a debt? If so, Buonaparté has my most hearty thanks; for, he will, in that case, give our grand-children a chance of seeing France such, in this respect, as England now is. But, I am afraid this notion is not correct; I am afraid, that the Consul has made no loans; and, then, it follows, of course, that what the Doctor

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calls an anticipation of the revenue, is, having made the people *pay before-hand*, which may, as far as I know, be to deceive those people; but I am certain it is very far from proving that they are impoverished, and still less is it a mark of the "rapid decay" of the resources of the government. The Doctor thinks he has achieved great things in imposing a considerable portion of the taxes that are wanted within the year; were he to raise, during the year, nearly as much money as the necessities of the state demanded for that space of time, he would be regarded as the greatest of men; what, then, are we to think of Buonaparté, who raises in the year *all* that he wants during that year! But he raises them "in advance." Could the Doctor raise taxes in advance what a happy man would he be! He, poor man, is obliged to wait till they are due; and, he thinks himself well off, if he can get them then. The truth is, this ministerial paragraph has neither sense nor reason in it; but, its object evidently is, to revive that most foolish and dangerous notion, that France is to be beaten by the ruin of her finances; and, to defeat this object, to shew how fallacious is the notion, and to convince the people that France is to be beaten only by warlike exertions, ought to be the endeavour of every one, who writes or speaks upon public affairs.—Of all the nations upon earth the English are the greatest dupes; and, of all the English, the greatest dupes are those, who dabble in politics and the funds, and who are never to be cured. Their cullibility is of a nature not to be subdued by the effects either of time or suffering. Their folly is as obstinate as that of the bird, which, after having, for ten years together, made ten thousand attempts every day, to get through the wire of his cage, begins the eleventh year with unabated perseverance. How many times did Mr. Pitt tell them, that the last war was "a war of finance?" How many scores of pamphlets, how many thousands of paragraphs were written to prove, that, if we would but hold out a little longer, the resources of the bankrupt enemy must totally fail her? In order to convince us, that the assignats and mandates must inevitably produce the utter ruin of France, and bring her regicide rulers to our feet, how many reams of paper did Sir Francis D'Ivernois render still more worthless than even those assignats and mandates? Sir Francis has lately, if we can trust to his advertisements, reproached Buonaparté with a breach of five promises. How many promises, alas! has Sir Francis broken! And, yet, were he to recommence his pro-

phesies, it is a thousand to one but he would find believers in abundance. Such is the credulity, such the infatuation, of this enervated money-loving race.—Of all the errors that we can adopt, this is the worst; this is infinitely the most dangerous. Our wealth will never save us. It will not give us a victory over so much as a foraging party: it will not procure us a respite for half an hour; and, really, if we do hope to triumph in consequence of the drain which time may call for from the treasures of Buonaparté, we neither shall, nor ought, to escape that punishment, which such folly and baseness have never yet failed, first or last, to bring upon its possessors.

PARTIES.]—Upon this subject the public anxiety is uncommonly great. All men of sense have long been convinced, that a change, not *in* the Ministry, but *of* the Ministry, is necessary to give the country even a chance of extricating itself from the great and numerous dangers, with which it is now surrounded. But, till lately, there nowhere appeared any hope. All the great men of the kingdom; all those to whom either the people, or foreign courts, could possibly look with any degree of confidence, seemed to be so completely divided, as to check every wish that arose in one's mind as to their coalescing in the form of a ministry, or a party. It is an old saying, that, when things are at worst, they must mend; and, as our state was nearly, if not quite, as bad as it could be, hope, at last, seemed to grow out of despair. A change for the worse is impossible; and, I am inclined to think, that we shall see a change for the better. Not that I set so little value upon my reputation for political sagacity, as to hazard an opinion, that the Doctor will, before he has brought the Monarchy to the very gates of death, be driven from his ill-gotten and worse exercised power; but, it does appear to me, that he and his colleagues will not be much longer suffered to sleep upon a bed of roses, while they keep the people of a mighty empire upon the rack.—Precisely what shape parties will take, how men will group together, and how, at last, the two opposite sides will stand, it is very difficult to say. With the minor politicians, amongst whom I include myself, the great subject of speculation is, what course Mr. Pitt will pursue. Supposing Mr. Fox, Mr. Windham, Lord Grenville, and their respective friends, to co-operate against the Minister; there will, in that case, be three modes of proceeding, out of which Mr. Pitt must make his election: 1. To join the opposition; 2. To join the Minister; 3. To secede from Par-

liament; for, as to the little game of motions of adjournment and of previous question, I think, and, for his name and fame's sake, I do sincerely hope, that he never will try that again, seeing that I never have, from the date of Mr. Patten's motion to the present hour, met with any man, of any politics or any party, who did not condemn the part, which Mr. Pitt, by the advice of Lord Melville, then condescended to act.—Each of the three courses, above described, must present considerable difficulties to Mr. Pitt; yet, I hope, there can be little doubt as to which he will prefer; for, as in the case of Achilles, by his choice will his character be known.—In the mean-time, the camp in Downing Street and Whitehall is all upon the alert; the fears of a foreign, have given place to the fears of a domestic invasion; and, it is confidently stated, that the more nervous of the set have already begun to reconnoitre the ground for a retreat. Mr. Sheridan, in his more fortunate days, once compared Lord Castlereagh to a boy who had been let down the chimney, for the purpose of opening the door and letting in the gang; and, without a wish to speak irreverently, when I look at the ministers, in their present state, they really force upon my recollection pictures that I have seen in the windows, describing the anxiety and agitation of a nest of sharpers, when they hear the constables knocking at the door. God send their alarm may not be in vain! Their *press*, though it begins to flag, is yet most bitter and boisterous. The cry of "*coalition*" has, indeed, been fairly coughed down; but, that of "*prerogative*" and "*constitution*" still braves the scorn of common sense; and, as they may, possibly, be heard till the meeting of Parliament, it may not be altogether unnecessary to bestow a few remarks on the way, in which they have been, and yet are, employed.—It has frequently been observed, that the modesty of the Addingtons and their colleagues very far surpasses the assurance of the common run of mankind, of which, if there wanted any proof, the doctrines they are now preaching up, as to the duty of supporting Ministers, would most amply afford it.—"The constitution," say they, "gives the King the prerogative of choosing his Ministers; he has chosen the present Ministers, and they ought to be supported, because they are the King's choice!" To argue a against this would be to give a sanction to assurance; but, as to the latter position, I shall deny the *fact*. I say the present Ministers are *not* the King's choice. They were chosen by Mr. Pitt, who, to

the credit of Lord Hawkesbury be it spoken, had considerable difficulty in persuading that nobleman to make part of the cabinet. Not so with the Doctor, who jumped at it, as, before Mr. Pitt discovered his rare qualities, he would have done at a half-guinea fee. But, to the mortification of "the family," it ought to be known, that the place of prime minister was *first* offered by Mr. Pitt to Mr. Dudley Rider, now Lord Harrowby, who had the modesty to refuse it. Then, and not till then, was Mr. Henry Addington thought of, even by Mr. Pitt. And yet, these people now affect to regard themselves as having been selected by the throne, not only as ministers, but as the *only* men that his Majesty could, or can, think of trusting with ministerial power!—Towards the close of the Treasury pamphlet, the Cursory Remarks, they have very elaborately laid down their doctrine of official immortality: "I protest," says the author, "that, in this fearful crisis of our country, I hope, that we have no other cause, no other interest, but hers! that we contend not for patrons but for duties, not for parties but for the state; and we all rally around OUR SOVEREIGN and his ministers, his lieutenants, and his generals, around *all* who have his confidence and commission. I am sure this is the faith of the constitution, and that by this alone we can be saved." By this "*we*" the Addingtons and the Hawkesburys mean *themselves*; for, as to the people, they are to be saved, if saved at all, by causing, as far as their right and power go, the present ministers to be hurled from their places. Yes, and where is the man, who does not rally round his sovereign? but, where is the man who would not be ashamed to be thought to rally round the ministers? Observe how they have nestled themselves into the folds of the royal robe! how anxious they are to identify themselves with the king, and thus, at once, to preserve their power and to get rid of all responsibility. "Our sovereign and his ministers, his lieutenants, and his generals;" just as if the word *his* had a talismanic virtue in it; just as if it could, or ought, to shelter ministers from impeachment any more than it shelters generals from courts-martial!—Having thus laid down a creed for us, they proceed to state, that, besides that the circumstance of their being the king's ministers gives them a right to unanimous support, there are no other persons to make ministers of. "What," say they, "would be the situation of the country (at this crisis of foreign danger, internal difficulty, and Irish rebellion) under a minis-

try, [the late ministry] whom it would be in the power of the most insignificant member in the House to *displace at any moment*, by simply bringing forward the "Irish Catholic question?" *Why* this should be; *how* this should be done, they do not tell us; but, thus they effectually set aside Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham. They then proceed to the old opposition, and observe, that, they "are not aware of more than one case, in which Mr. Fox and *his* minority" [putting *his* in *Italic* characters] "could be considered as a possible administration, and that is, the success of the invasion, or some other great disaster which would lay us at the feet of France. He might, perhaps, be the *vice-president of the Britannic Republic*, but there is little prospect of his ever being the minister of an English King." Hence they conclude, that "his Majesty's ministers have a right to all our support, co-operation, and assistance; that we should not *dare* at this terrible hour, to increase their difficulties, diminish their credit, or shake the confidence of the people; that we ought not to bring forward serious causes of complaint, if they existed, at a time when unanimity alone can preserve the empire; that we should consider them abstractedly as the *king's* ministers; that they have been faithful, able, vigorous, and fortunate, and that we ought to trust they will continue so; but, that, *at all events*, under them *we must* fight for all that is dear and sacred to humanity; by *their side* we must conquer or lie down; that there is *no other party for us to take*, and there is no duty more imperious and binding."—Modest gentlemen! "No other party for us to take!" Such assurance was certainly never before exhibited in the world. It is absolutely without a parallel. We have never before seen, or heard of, any thing like it.—Upon the principles of their creed, that I have cited above, they appear to have drawn up the prayer, which, on account of the present war, has been introduced into the liturgy. "And let no *internal divisions* obstruct his" [the king's designs] "designs for the public good, nor bring down Thy judgments upon us." What is meant by "*internal divisions*?" and divisions, too, calculated to obstruct the king's (that is to say his ministers') designs? Insurrection and rebellion cannot be here alluded to: *divisions* would have been a term by no means applicable to acts of that sort. The phrase must, and it does, as it was evidently intended, mean, or, at least, include, *political divisions*; and, I am by no means singular in the opinion, that, as

far as the views of the ministers went, one object of this part of the prayer was, to excite a general dread of the consequences of *divisions* of every sort (not forgetting divisions in parliament,) and thereby to throw an odium on, to check, and finally to destroy, *all opposition*.—I trust, however, that divisions as to political opinions, and that a strenuous opposition to ministers, will, in many cases, be found, not only strictly conformable to, but enjoined by, the sacred obligations of allegiance; and, if this opposition was ever called for, if these obligations ought ever to have weight with us, the moment certainly is, when a weak and selfish ministry threaten to involve the throne and the people in one common ruin. During the time that these men have been in power, they have made a peace which surrendered all our conquests into the hands of our enemy, without obtaining for us any equivalent; they have thrown the United States of America into the arms of France; they have rendered that country tributary to France, and have induced it to enter into treaties hostile to the trade of England; they have enabled France to new model, according to her interest, the Germanic Body; they have suffered her to seize on His Majesty's German dominions; they have, by their negligence or other misconduct, given rise to a rebellion in Ireland; and they have reduced this island to the great misery and the greater disgrace of a *state of siege*, which requires a force that cannot be, for a moment, laid aside, and that cannot, for any length of time, be constantly maintained, without taxes, which, if imposed, cannot be raised. They have, at the end of ten months of nominal peace, plunged us into a war, the ostensible and *official* grounds of which all foreign nations regard as insufficient. They have left us without a single ally, or friend; and, in exchange for that respect, which always heretofore accompanied the name of Britain, they have brought upon our country the contempt and the scorn of the world. The evils of their administration are felt in every limb, every artery, every vein of the country. A general want of confidence, in all matters connected, in the most distant way, with public measures, prevails in every part of the empire. Those institutions, which are, in some sort, the basis of our public credit, are shaken; their stability begins to be generally suspected, and their securities to depreciate. Foreigners seek a safer place of deposit; they are removing their wealth out of our country; we ourselves are burying that which cannot be depreciated by political causes; and thus, Britain, the mighty, the favoured land of Bri-

tain, which, during the last war, was regarded as the last place of refuge for innocence and wealth, is now suspected even by her own children. These and all the other evils that surround us, are to be ascribed to a *want of confidence* in the men, who exercise those powers, by which national good, or national evil, is produced. No man, not one even of their partisans and creatures, places any reliance on them for wisdom, or for any of the qualities that are necessary in the conducting of the affairs of a state; even this description of persons, as fast as they become gratified with the wages of their subservience, hesitate not to pray for a change, that they may be protected in the enjoyment of those wages. Under such circumstances, then, is it not our first duty to supplicate his Majesty to remove these servants from his councils? Is it not, at any rate, the first duty of Parliament so to act, as to convince their Sovereign, that they participate in the feelings of his people in this respect, and that they are not dead to his real and permanent interests? "It is the prerogative of his Majesty to choose and to dismiss his ministers." True. God forbid the truth should ever be disputed! But, it is the privilege, it is the duty, the bounden duty, of Parliament, to signify to his Majesty the conviction which they may entertain of the incapacity, or other disqualification, of those ministers; nay, it is sometimes their duty to impeach, to imprison, to try, and to punish, the King's ministers; and, if acts like these may become a duty, shall they not dare to express their disapprobation of ministers? shall this be regarded as trenching upon the King's prerogative? and shall a member of Parliament, as in the case of Lord Temple, because he wishes the affairs of government committed to abler hands, be charged with assuming "the right to name the King's ministers,"* and of a design to invade the "undoubted prerogatives of the crown?"—The fact is, that his Majesty has no partiality at all for these ministers, as may well be believed, when we consider his well-known discrimination of character. They were thrust upon him, under circumstances that would admit of no delay; and, such has been the state of parties ever since, that he has not been able to supply their place. They have existed, as a ministry, upon the mutual jealousies of the great men of the country; and, the moment those

jealousies are removed, their existence, as a ministry, will cease.

INVASION.—As was suggested in the preceding number of the Register, the report of invasion (which, be it remembered, was to have taken place *yesterday week*) has proved to be a mere "Tale of a Tub." By way of comment, on what I then stated, the ministerial prints have observed, that they are persuaded I would gladly see an invasion of my native country, *for the sake of plunging the ministers into difficulties*. It is very strange that this language should be held by those, who are every day telling us, that invasion is just about to be attempted, and who wish, or who say they wish, that it may no longer be delayed, seeing that they are *certain* the result will be *glorious* to Britain! For my part, I do not think an invasion of England will, for some time to come, take place; and, I most sincerely wish that it *never* may; because, though we were to defeat the enemy, the being reduced to fight for England upon English ground would, in my opinion, be an indelible disgrace. I do not assert, that the ministers entertained no apprehensions of an invasion being attempted last week, or this week; for, indeed, they are so weak, their intelligence is so very bad, that, like children in the dark, they are full of apprehensions; but, I will not resign the opinion, which I last week expressed, that they might set up the cry of "wolf! wolf!" for the purpose of driving members of parliament into the country, and for keeping in the country, such as are already there. And, whatever other people may choose to believe, I beg the readers of the Register to be upon their guard against impositions of this sort. During the present winter, a hundred tricks will be played off to amuse or to scare the public; to engage their attention, to turn it from political topics, especially such as are connected with the conduct of ministers. These arts will not succeed for many months; but, my desire is, that they should not succeed for a day.—I wish to see people, of all ranks and degrees, ready and resolutely resolved to defend their country, to repel and to chastise the foreign foe; but I wish not to see them the dupes of the weak or wicked men, whose misconduct has exposed them to the inroads of that foe.

The Vth Number of *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates* is just published. It contains a correct and full report of the speeches of Mr. Fox, Lord Castlereagh, &c. on the Army Estimates.

* See their Cursory Remarks, p. 71.